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This is clearly the *carmen* referred to by Petrarch in the *Secretum*. It was written "quasi iam mortuae amicae," as the heading and the first and sixth lines indicate. The whole poem develops the idea "indignabar . . . illi esse superstitem." Lines 7, 8, and 12 express specifically the grief which is referred to in the words "Hoc enim carmen illud deflet, quod tunc multo lachrymarum imbre respersum excidit mihi" and in the first words of Augustine's reply. The fifth distich corresponds to the phrase "quæ dulcem mihi uitam, sola sui præsentia faciebat." The two last distichs voice the feeling, dominant throughout the passage in the *Secretum*, that Petrarch, being older than Laura, was justified in expecting to die before she did. They parallel in particular the second speech of Petrarch and the last speech of Augustine.<sup>13</sup>

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## NOTES ON SWINBURNE'S *SONG OF ITALY*

Critics have tended to ignore the fact that intelligent interest in Italian affairs, quite as much as abstract revolutionary enthusiasm, inspired the part of Swinburne's work that deals with the *Risorgimento*. His poems on Italy and France are so colored by his detailed knowledge of affairs in those countries, his references to men and incidents are so intimate, that the full meaning of his lines is often obscured. A full understanding of his wealth

the text, Novati states that the poem was found in a 15th century manuscript at Bergamo; gives the contents of that manuscript; cites certain other compositions of Petrarch in rhymed hexameters; and justifies his few variations from the reading of the manuscript. He does not discuss the content of the poem.

I have been unable to procure a printed copy of the publication, and quote from a manuscript copy of the entire publication made for me by a scribe employed by Ulrico Hoepli of Milan.

<sup>13</sup> Develay suggested (Pétrarque, *Mon Secret*, trans. V. Develay, Paris, 1898, p. 123) that the sonnet beginning "O misera et horribil visione!," no. 251 in the *Canzoniere*, was the *carmen* referred to by Petrarch in the *Secretum*. It was, however, improbable in any case that Petrarch should have dignified an Italian sonnet by such a term and such a reference; and the sonnet in question does not contain the ideas which were expressed, as the *Secretum* passage shows, in the *carmen*.

of allusion is essential to appreciation of the value of this poetry. The following notes are intended to bring together such allusions in the *Song of Italy*.<sup>1</sup>

A *Song of Italy*, written in 1867, when a free and united Italy was almost a consummated fact, is primarily a song of praise to Mazzini, the foremost of Swinburne's heroes. With it it is interesting to compare the early *Ode to Mazzini*,<sup>2</sup> which Mr. Gosse, on evidence of technique and allusion, dates early in 1857. The *Ode* reflects Mazzini's opposition to force, and in that respect comes nearer to the "Dedication" to Mazzini of the *Songs before Sunrise* than it does to the *Song of Italy*. In general the *Ode* bears an analogy to the first part of the *Song*. Both deal with the tragedy of Italy's wrongs; both look hopefully towards the future. The tragedy is naturally deeper and the hope vaguer in the *Ode* of 1857 than in the *Song* of 1867. Strophe xv of the *Ode* proclaims the belief that when Italy shall at last be free, Mazzini's name will be revered above all others for his share in the work. Cf. *Song*, lines 353-366; 433-690.<sup>3</sup>

The *Song of Italy* begins with reflections upon Italy's state of servitude, a description of the gradual casting off of her chains, and an impassioned statement of belief in her future, addressed to some of those who had been faithful to her and fought for her. The poet then bids Mazzini hope and believe that his countrymen are worthy of his service; he sings of the battles that have been fought and of Garibaldi and others who took part in them. The poem culminates in a hymn of praise to Mazzini from all things of nature and all parts of Italy. The last sections are a prayer to Italy that she may be merciful to her enemies, and a prophecy addressed to Rome that her liberation is almost accomplished and that she will be the crown of the Republic.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I have consulted freely various historical works, especially G. M. Trevelyan's three volumes on Garibaldi and the *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. xi. I am indebted to Dr. S. C. Chew for several references and for other assistance in preparing these notes.

<sup>2</sup> *Ode to Mazzini. The Saviour of Society. Liberty and Loyalty.*—A volume edited by Edmund Gosse and privately printed for the members of the Bibliophile Society of Boston, 1913.

<sup>3</sup> Trust in Mazzini as the destined saviour of Italy is one of the many parallels between Swinburne and Meredith. See especially *Vittoria*, chapters II, III, the end of xvii, and Vittoria's pleading in XLIII; cf. Meredith's *Letters*, Scribner, II, 529.

<sup>4</sup> References are to the number of the line of the poem. To economize space I have not quoted the passages commented upon.

95-102: Italy, the predestined Republic, is dearer to Liberty than other nations. For the contrast with England and France cf. lines 317, 687-790. Other poems make clearer what the "torpor" is in which they lie: the acceptance of monarchy and the refusal to give immediate aid to the forces of liberty. See *The Eve of Revolution* (stanzas 15-19); *A Watch in the Night* (stanzas 14, 15); *Perinde ac Cadaver*; *A Marching Song*, stanzas 17 ff., for expressions of this view (all in the *Songs before Sunrise*). In the *Ode to Mazzini* (strophe 13) Swinburne still expressed his belief that "Cromwell's England" was in active sympathy with Italy.

97: Cf. stanza on "Spain" in *The Litany of Nations* (*Songs before Sunrise*).

98: The description here fits Russia best, though in *The Eve of Revolution* (stanzas 6-8) Greece is represented by the east and Russia by the north. Cf. *The Litany of Nations* (stanza on "Russia") and the *Song for the Centenary of Walter Savage Landor* (stanza 42) (*Studies in Song*).

139-142: Cf. George Meredith, *Vittoria*, chapter xvii, concluding paragraph. Cf. *Lines on the Monument of Giuseppe Mazzini* (stanza 7) (*A Midsummer Holiday and Other Poems*).

175-218: The motif of the Italian tri-color, red, white and green, here introduced, reappears later in the hymn of praise (lines 489-493, 606), and makes a final note of triumph towards the close (line 798). In addition to suggesting the beauty of Italy the colors are given a mystical meaning of hope and light and life, while the Austrian yellow and black represent pestilence and death (lines 203-208, 563). Cf. *Hertha* (stanza 16), *The Halt before Rome* (stanza 4), *On the Downs* (stanzas 24 and 25), and especially *The Song of the Standard* (all in *Songs before Sunrise*). Cf. also *Vittoria*, chapter xxiv: "Black and yellow drop to the earth: green, white and red mount to heaven."

231-232: Apollo; the force of the reference depending on his character as god of light.

261-275: The enemies of Italian independence are enumerated: the slave, the Italian who submitted to despot rule; the priest, the Papal See; the Austrian, whose oppression of Lombard-Venetia was largely responsible for the Italian struggle for liberty.

267-270: The Austrian banner is a two-headed black eagle on a yellow ground. Cf. *The Litany of Nations* ("Switzerland"): "The plume-plucked Austrian vulture-heads twin-crested," and the *Ode to Mazzini*:

ere Austria loosed her winged hounds,  
These double-beaked and bloody-plumaged things.

271-275: When Pius IX became Pope in 1846 his first official acts led the liberals to hope that he would support their efforts towards reform, but a strong reaction soon set in. Cf. Mrs. Browning, *Casa Guidi Windows*. For the phraseology cf. *Diræ* vii:

"The priests whose souls are swine" and "That triple-headed hound."

278-279: Of course many brothers fought and died together for the cause of Italy, but these lines with the context apparently refer specifically to brothers killed together early in the campaign. The most likely case is that of Attilio and Emilio Bandiera, who in 1844 were lured on an expedition to Calabria, and were captured and shot at Cosenza by order of the Neapolitan government.

295: The patriot Carlo Pisacane, who, when Saffi, Cosenz and Garibaldi had declined the undertaking, accepted the leadership of the expedition to free the political prisoners of the King of Naples. The liberators went to Ponza and there released two hundred prisoners; but when they landed at Sapri they were opposed by the Neapolitans and overpowered. Pisacane died fighting. (1857).

306-307: Agesilao Milano, a soldier of fanatical Mazzinian principles, who, in 1856, wounded King Ferdinand II of Naples with a bayonet. Cf. *Ode to Mazzini* (strophe 13):

When out of Naples came a tortured voice  
Whereat the whole earth shuddered, and forbade  
The murderous smile on lying lips to fade,  
The murderous heart in silence to rejoice.

and strophe 6: "A court alive with creeping things." On Ferdinand cf. *Dirae* I and II.

307-322: Felice Orsini, another Mazzinian Republican. In 1849 he was an official of the Roman Republic in Ancona. Later he was an exile in England with Mazzini. The reference here is to his attempt on the life of Napoleon III in 1858, when he hurled three bombs at the imperial carriage on a Paris street, wounding many people. The Emperor, prompted by desire to placate other patriots, did what he could to save him, but Orsini was guillotined. Contrary to general expectation, the deed actually helped Cavour's work, for the meeting at Plombières, where Napoleon and Cavour planned the war against Austria, was due in no small measure to Orsini's act. Note lines 317-318 and cf. Herbert Paul (*History of Modern England* II, 191): "There is abundant evidence that he [the Emperor] was under the dominion of personal fear."

With the triumphant ring of these lines and the enthusiasm for Orsini which Swinburne is said to have shown when he was in Paris soon after Orsini's attempt, it is instructive to compare the more subdued feeling on the same subject manifested in a later poem, *For a Portrait of Felice Orsini* (*Studies in Song*), in which the emphasis is laid upon Orsini's "error." For another opinion of tyrannicide cf. the *Song for the Centenary of Walter Savage Landor* (stanza 45).

371-433: This section is devoted, with fleeting references to other years, to a review of the events of 1867. The first lines (371-376) allude to the part taken by Italy in the Austro-Prussian

war, when, though her forces were beaten on sea and land, Italy gave great assistance to Prussia by engaging a large part of the Austrian army. As one result of the war, Venetia was added to Italy, though Prussia and France united in refusing Italy's claims to the territory extending to the Trentino and Southern Tyrol.

377-378: The second battle of Custozza, June 24, 1866, when the Austrians badly defeated the Italians under the command of Victor Emmanuel. The battle was fought on a line of hills west of Verona, the scene of the severe defeat of the Italians under Charles Albert in 1848.

378-390: Another Italian reverse was the naval defeat at Lissa, July 20, 1866. One ship was sunk with two-thirds of her crew; another was blown up. Swinburne's lines apparently refer in general terms only to the sailors who went down for the sake of Italy, their "mother."

391-433: A plea to Garibaldi to renew the struggle and especially to add Rome to Italy.

391-398: The campaign of 1860, when Garibaldi and his small army, the "Thousand," invaded Sicily and caused the collapse of the kingdom of Naples, thus bringing about the union of Naples with Victor Emmanuel's kingdom. Here Garibaldi displayed the swiftness and force of his sword more than at any other time. Cf. also lines 427-428.

401: The island of Caprera, to which Garibaldi retired after his campaigns, to issue forth whenever Italy needed him.

403: 1866, a year of failure because of Italy's defeats and especially because of the temporary abandonment of the effort to free Rome; a year of fame because of the efforts that resulted in the liberation of Venetia.

413-420: The reference is apparently to Aurelio Saffi, one of the Triumvirate of the Roman Republic of 1849. Although his services to Italy were notable, his place in history is hardly where Swinburne puts him here, equal with Mazzini and Garibaldi. Cf. the "Dedication" of *Marino Faliero* to him, and two poems of the same title: *In Memory of Aurelio Saffi* (*Astrophel and other poems* and *A Channel Passage and other poems*).

419-425: The fall of the Roman Republic in 1849 is meant, with possible allusions to the later attempts to overthrow the Papal authority, attempts thwarted for the most part by France. It was Napoleon III who overthrew the Republic of 1849 and restored the Pope; and the presence of a French garrison in Rome was the real reason why the leaders of Piedmont dared not allow Garibaldi to march on the city. The French left the city in 1866, carrying out the terms of the Convention of 1864; but they returned in 1867. Garibaldi's defeat at Mentana by the French army of Rome occurred a few months after the *Song of Italy* was written. See *The Halt before Rome* and *Mentana, First Anniversary* (both in *Songs before Sunrise*) and *Dirae* xiv and xv.

429-430: The incident of Aspromonte, "the Bitter Hill." In 1862 Garibaldi and his volunteers crossed the Straits of Messina with the intention of marching on Rome. The policy of Piedmont was at the time against such action, lest a break should occur with France. Victor Emmanuel's soldiers, therefore, halted the volunteers on the ridge of Aspromonte in Calabria. In a short skirmish that took place Garibaldi was wounded. The incident is referred to at greater length in *The Halt before Rome* (stanza 29).

432: After Aspromonte, Garibaldi and his men were made prisoners of war, Garibaldi himself being shut up in the fortress of Varignano, near Spezia. He was under arrest again in the summer of 1867, shortly after the publication of the *Song of Italy*.

525-530: Brescia, though in Lombardy, rose in support of Piedmont in 1849, and suffered many hardships when the insurrection was put down with great ferocity by General Haynau. Cf. the last chapters of *Vittoria*.

533-534: There seems to be no definite allusion in these lines in praise of Verona.

535-538: Milan was one of the centres of revolution. The "five glorious days" of 1848, during which the inhabitants forced the Austrians to leave the city, are among the most heroic episodes of the period. After the re-entry of the Austrians, Milan suffered greatly from their oppressive rule until its freedom was accomplished after the battle of Magenta, 1859. The tale of the Milanese risings is the central theme of *Vittoria*.

540-550: The contrast is between the Emperor Augustus, the subject of Vergil's praise, and Mazzini, Italy's republican hero.

554: In allusion to the venerable university.

555-564: Venice, which remained longest under the rule of Austria (described here, with reference to the national flag, as "storms of black thunder and of yellow flame"), was liberated in 1866, shortly before the *Song of Italy* was written.

573-576: Enrico Dandolo became Doge of Venice in 1193 when more than eighty years old. He took part in the Fourth Crusade, and in the two sieges of Constantinople, 1202-1204, acquired for Venice many sacred relics and much territory in the Levant. Swinburne refers especially to these acquisitions in order to contrast the greater gift of Mazzini to Italy (lines 577-578). On Dandolo see also Byron, *Childe Harold* IV, 12, and *Marino Faliero* IV, II, 157-8; and Browning, *Sordello*, Part III.

579-590: The services of Columbus and Mazzini, the two famous sons of Genoa, are compared. Cf. *Lines on the Monument of Giuseppe Mazzini* (*A Midsummer Holiday and other poems*). Note that Genoa is the only town in Piedmont called upon to praise Mazzini. Swinburne's hatred of monarchy doubtless caused this omission. Similarly no praise is given to Cavour, the great Piedmontese minister, among those who served Italy.

627-636: Pisa, with reference to the Campo Santo ("the field of death"), to the Arno, and to the Leaning Tower ("a wall that fades and does not fall").

637-658: San Gimignano, where Dante served as ambassador from Florence in 1300 and requested that representatives be sent to the assembly of the Guelphs in Florence. He spoke at the Palazzo Comunale (the "halls that saw Dante speaking" of line 643). The epithets Swinburne uses—"O little laurelled town of towers"—are strikingly true of a town of but nine thousand inhabitants that is still surrounded with its ancient walls and decorated with thirteen towers. For another reference to San Gimignano see the *Song for the Centenary of Walter Savage Landor* (stanza 38).

659-672: These lines emphasize the past glories of Siena; its ruinous present is typified by the deadly coast of the Maremma; and the poet foretells its renewed life through the influence of Mazzini's name. On Siena see the exquisite poem, *Siena*, in *Songs before Sunrise*. Fonte Branda is a famous fountain in the town, dating from the twelfth century. As Swinburne was well acquainted with Dante he of course knew Maestro Adamo's expression of hatred against the Counts Guidi in whose service he had come to his place in hell:

"Ma s'io vedessi qui l'anima trista  
Di Guido, o d'Alessandro, o di lor frate,  
Per fonte Branda non darei la vista." (*Inf.* xxx, 76-78).

Older commentators generally took this for the Siennese spring, as did doubtless Swinburne; but it is now held to be almost certainly the less-known fountain of the same name near the walls of the Castle of Romena in the Casentino.

673-676: Mazzini's principles struck deep root in Naples. Between 1849 and 1859 his conspiracies were directed chiefly against Ferdinand II. But Swinburne is less than just to Garibaldi, who had certainly at least a part in "bidding Naples be."

697-745: With this whole passage compare the *Ode to Mazzini* (strophe 17):

"Even when the awakened people speaks in wrath,  
Wrong shall not answer wrong in blinding patience:  
Our freedom's bridal robe no wrong shall stain."

Though Austria was compelled after the war of 1866 to yield Venetia to Italy, history hardly justifies the line (698) "Now fallen before thy knees." A similar idea, that Austria was now crushed and sorrowing, is expressed in *Dirae* v.

747-748: Rome, which had been nominally Victor Emmanuel's capital since 1861, did not become so in fact until 1870. These lines and the concluding section of the poem look forward to a "priestless Rome that shalt be," free and republican. Swin-



burne seems to have regarded the united kingdom of Italy as an ephemeral arrangement. But he does not seem to foreshadow Rome as the centre of a world-republic, unless line 831 be taken as a vague expression of some such transcendental idea. Cf. *e. g.*, *The Eve of Revolution* (stanza 18, lines 12-16) and *Hertha* (stanza 36).

789: The "hateful head" is Napoleon III. Swinburne's opinion of the Emperor, a matter inadequately treated by Mr. Gosse in the volume already referred to, is a subject of much interest for which there is not space here at present.

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## ZU DEN MHD. KURZEN PRÄTERITA GIE, FIE, LIE

Die mittelhochdeutschen Präterita *gie*, *fie*, *lie*,<sup>1</sup> werden zwar in jeder mhd. Grammatik verzeichnet, haben aber bis jetzt nicht die volle Beachtung gefunden, die sie in grammatischer Hinsicht verdienen. Wie merkwürdig, dass diese kurzen Formen sich um die Zeit, wo das Ahd. sich in das Mhd. umsetzt, aus den volleren Formen *gieng*, *fieng*, *liez* entwickeln, dann während der mittelhochd. Zeit neben den älteren Formen herlaufen, um schliesslich im Neuhochd. wieder den letzteren Platz zu machen! Wie erklären sich diese eigentümlichen Doppelformen? Dass einfacher Lautwandel vorliege, ist kaum glaublich, denn z. B. die Präterita *stiez*, *slōz* und das Prät.-Präs. *maioz* bewahren ihr ausl. *z*, wie die Substantiva *gang* und *fang* ihr ausl. *ng*. Weiter: nach welchen Regeln verwenden die mhd. Schriftsteller die kürzeren neben den längeren Formen? Dass hier auffällige Unterschiede herrschen, ist durch K. Zwierzinas sorgfältige Untersuchungen über den Reimgebrauch der mhd. Dichter (über Wolfram: *Festgabe f. Heinzel*, S. 468; üb. Hartmann: *ZfdA.* XL, 240; üb. andre Dichter: *ZfdA.* XLV, 47 ff.) erwiesen. Aber man möchte doch auch wissen, wie es mit diesen Doppelformen ausserhalb des Reimes steht. Hier bietet sich der Untersuchung noch ein weites Feld. Ich lege im folgenden nur ein paar Ergebnisse vor, zu denen mich der Versuch führte, den Ursprung der Formen *gie* und *lie* zu ermitteln.

<sup>1</sup> Zu diesen Präterita stellt sich weiterhin noch *hie* neben *hieng*, offenbar nach dem Muster von *fie* neben *fieng*. (*vāhen* : *vieng* : *vie* = *hāhen* : *hieng* : *hie*).